1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX C

Sources of Population Increase

161 In the demographic analysis increase in population generally has been discussed without regard to its source. There are two possible sources: (1) immigration; or (2) growth of local population through the excess of births over deaths.

161 167 Although exact data for immigration into the Recôncavo is lacking, it is probably realistic to disregard sources outside the state of Bahia. The 1950 census gives 144,055 as the number of people in Bahia who were born in other Brazilian states, but shows 430,217 natives of Ba a who were resident in other states. In general, the state of Bahia is the source, not the destination, of a current of migration. The principal origin of this current apparently is the back country of the state, not the Recôncavo. Immigration from other countries is negligible.

It may be inferred that the Recôncavo had a net gain as a result of intra-state migration between 1940 and 1950. The extent to which this gain was permanent is not clear.

163 165 The birth rate of Bahia has been estimated at 42 or 43 per thousand, while the death rate of Salvador has been estimated at about 161 27 per thousand.[1] This suggests that the rate of population increase must be relatively high. On the basis of a population increase of 15 per thousand, the 1940 Recôncavo population of 924,032 would have been 1,060,372 by 1950.

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[1] Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, pp. 285, 295. Since death records are not available in many parts of the interior, death rates ordinarily are available for the capital cities only.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

165 [217] The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo listed 111 deaths for 1950, fifty-one male and sixty female. The age breakdown was as follows:

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF DEATHS BY AGE GROUPS, 1950

under 1 year	36
1- 4	20
5- 9	1
10-14	4
15-19	4
20-29	10
30-39	10
40-49	6
50-59	9
60-69	4
70-79	3
80-89	1
90-99	2
over 99	1
	111

165 164 It is apparent that the first five years are those in which the death rate is highest. According to the local doctor's records, the most frequent causes of these deaths are diarrhea and enteritis (seven deaths), whooping cough (seven deaths), chronic nephritis (five deaths), and acute bronchitis (four deaths). The mal de sete dias (literally, "illness of seven days," an umbilical infection in newly born infants) was the cause of only two deaths, and only one natural abortion was registered, as well as one stillbirth. According to the same doctor, many more adults die of heart trouble and kidney ailments than of anything else.

553 [214] 551 553 The most popular method of naming children is by choosing from an almanac a name which strikes the fancy of the parents. In Brazil many commercial concerns publish yearly almanacs which are widely distributed. In addition to giving national holidays, saints' days, and various other kinds of calendars, they include lists of names, often of saints. While in the upper classes children are named after their parents and grandparents, lower-class families give their offspring all sorts of exotic names chosen from the almanacs, such as Estanislaus, Enoch, or Ignace. Sometimes the name is cho-

Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	258	156	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	110	99
1900	131	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

in the United States always serves to call out the traditional responses long associated with variations in social status.

Today there exists in Bahia the belief that the population is gradually but persistently "whitening," a conviction difficult to understand, given the heavy preponderance of Africans among the population which originally migrated to this area and the negligible number of European immigrants in recent times.

The probable greater mortality of blacks may in part account for this change. According to a recent unpublished study, the infantile death rate among the lower classes in Bahia, which, as we have seen, are principally black and dark mulatto, is approximately twice that of the upper classes; and, in 1932, deaths under five years of age constituted nearly one-third of all deaths for that year (1,698 out of 5,407). At the same time there does not seem to be any marked difference in fertility between the races.

At any rate, Bahians frequently comment on an appreciable change in the color of the population within their memories. One continually hears remarks like that of a mixed-blood citizen who said:

> Formerly, the *pretos* (blacks) were the most numerous group in Bahia, the *pardos* (browns) next, and the *brancos* (whites) last. Today, the *pardos* are in the majority, the *brancos* next, and the *pretos* last. I am convinced that before long the *pretos* will have completely disappeared. The *brancos* will soon overtake and, in the course of time, completely absorb the *pardos*.

The mixed-bloods tend to look upon themselves as transition points in an inevitable whitening process. Pride in the present advanced stage is common, and the end result is eagerly anticipated. From the mulattoes, as from the whites, one frequently hears the declaration: "We Brazilians are

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3.

TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

*Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

†Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole.

Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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occur to a considerable extent among the older generation, they throw no light on the extent of miscegenation in recent times. Consequently, their relative frequencies do not accurately reflect the present racial distribution in the *total* population.

TABLE 3*

BIRTHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,482	33.3	65	11.0	1,547	30.7
Preto	659	14.8	114	19.3	773	15.3
Pardo	2,314	51.9	411	69.7	2,725	54.0
Total	4,455	100.0	590	100.0	5,045	100.0

*Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

TABLE 4*

DEATHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,375	25.4	79	9.8	1,454	23.4
Preto	1,310	24.2	191	23.7	1,501	24.2
Pardo	2,722	50.4	536	66.5	3,258	52.4
Total	5,407	100.0	806	100.0	6,213	100.0

*Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

Bearing in mind these qualifications, we may note the color distribution among deceased at Bahia in 1932 (Table 4).

[SALVADOR]

/23 cont./

Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending: the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do Iº Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

[SALVADOR]

/24 cont./

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Year	Percentage of ethnic types		
	Whites	"Pardos"	Blacks
1897	32.61	29	38.39
1907	32.71	34.74	32.55
1917	32.81	39.55	27.64
1927	32.91	43.61	23.48
1938	33.02	47.37	19.61
1940 (1)	28.74	51.11	20.13

[114]

1. Figures of the national census, which differ from those relating to mortality because of a difference of evaluation in the classification of the types.

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*563 The rapid growth of the white group, through the incorporation of "whitened" métis, and thanks to the better social and economic conditions of the upper strata of the population, to which the vast majority of the descendants of Europeans belong, means that in the total figure, in relation to the Whites the proportion of colored persons is decreasing at the same time that the proportion of métis is increasing, which is clearly shown by the census:

Year	Proportions in relation to one White	
	Colored persons	"Pardos"
1872	3.16	1.88
1890	2.84	2.70
1940	2.57	2.55

*563 The intensity of crossbreeding is actually so great that, as a well-known intellectual of Bahia notes, "the autochthonous fino White is no more than a historic memory" (3).

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3. Prado Valadares, Remirando o cáos /Again Considering the Chaos/, Bahia, 1933.